

it would clearly illuminate for all to see that the Communist bloc, not the United States and the Western allies, are the real forces of imperialism.

As the specter of colonialism gradually evaporates under the intense heat of the rising suns of the new, emerging Afro-Asian nations, the grim shadow of Soviet imperialism in Central and Eastern Europe assumes an even more sinister hue. The regaining and maintenance of the initiative is indeed important. Since 1945 the Communists have succeeded in their efforts to confine, on the whole, the cold war to what they call the "war zone"—the non-Communist world—while keeping their so-called peace zone—the Communist bloc—virtually closed to Western intervention; and incidentally, closed to the ministrations of the United Nations. Thus the West, when it has won, has only maintained the status quo. The Communists, on the other hand, when they won, gained access to ground previously closed to them. Complementing the war zone—peace zone area of conflict has been the Communist propaganda effort. Thus they have managed to conjure up an image that somewhat resembles Dante's version of heaven and hell. An image that pictures the non-Communist world as the neither world of international conflict and colonialism, with the Communist world aglow with stability and peace. Thus the Communists have subverted freely into the West's zone while remaining untouchable in their so-called zone of peace.

The Hungarian revolt and its consequences is the most tragic acknowledgment of this sad state of affairs. By foisting upon the world the false notion that only those international disputes which originate in the relations of the West to the colonial areas are of worldwide interest, they have managed to manipulate the United Nations as a lever against the non-Communist world.

The logic behind such devious efforts is plain to see. By diverting the West's attention from the Soviet's shaky position in Eastern Europe to the underdeveloped and uncommitted nations where the swelling currents of anticolonialism and nationalism are, by their very nature, against the Western nations, the Communists cover up their "Achilles heel" of Eastern Europe. They are afraid to even discuss the Eastern Europe situation in an international forum because of the disastrous effects it might have in the satellite countries. They know full well that the captive nations' heritage and aspirations lie with the free world.

I deeply believe that now is the time to publicly proclaim that the Soviet efforts to forge its subject peoples into an united empire have failed.

Let us, through various means at different political, psychological, and moral levels, feed the forces of national identity and the quest for freedom that have bravely resisted the Communist oppression.

Let the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe increase the scope and tone of its message to the captive peoples.

Let us bring this blatant example of unprincipled imperialism before the United Nations and demand action based upon the principles to which that great organization is dedicated.

Yet, our words paying just tribute to these heroic peoples, must not outrun our deeds. Let us, by moral and political commitment, help to rekindle the flame of freedom that burns so brightly in our own Declaration of Independence. Our eternal quest for freedom—not only for ourselves, but for all the peoples of the world must not merely endure, but rather must prevail.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, we can have no more pointed reminder of our own freedoms and liberties than the brutal subjugation of lands which gave us

so many of our most outstanding citizens. In observing Captive Nations Week we in the United States salute the gallant peoples of these oppressed lands and pledge our enduring support of their efforts to rid themselves of the Soviet yoke.

These captive peoples possess their own customs, languages, and cultures. Through the centuries, wars have raged across their lands and their territories have been partitioned and parceled, first by one and then another tyrannical authority. Their resources and their populations have been drained but despite all oppressions, the fierce desire for freedom has not been dimmed.

The ingrained longing for liberty often has led to dramatic—and perilous—individual efforts to flee the captors. Millions have fled for freedom from behind the Iron Curtain. Frequently, such flight is tragically prevented.

The Communist conquerors aim for more than conquest over the lands of these captive peoples; they seek also to break the spirit and consume the minds of the citizenry. Earlier tyrants were content with submissive actions, but the Communists demand servile minds.

Although their lands are occupied and their borders sealed off, the citizens of these captive nations are restive. To their courageous countrymen who have successfully escaped Soviet bondage, those still enslaved look for leadership in their struggle for freedom. We can do no less than lend our own encouragement to this effort. We must not abandon them.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, the annual observance of the third week of July as Captive Nations Week serves to remind the world of the totalitarian yoke which the Soviet Union has imposed on the central and east European countries from the Baltic to the Black Sea.

As Americans living in freedom it is fitting that we should be especially sensitive to the plight of the Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles, Czechoslovaks, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Rumanians, and East Germans living under tyranny. We should continue to do everything we can to see that their nations are returned to the status of free and independent countries. Admittedly progress has been slow, but the situation is far from hopeless as long as we exert all possible pressure to loosen their bonds of captivity.

Observance of Captive Nations Week is one important way of focusing attention on the situation in these countries, and the unhappy reaction of the Soviet Union to the designation of this week is evidence of the aptness of our action.

We wish we could do more, but at least we can do this, and I am sure all Americans share with me the hope that soon the observance of a Captive Nations Week will no longer be necessary.

#### TRIBUTE TO THE LATE CLEVELAND M. BAILEY, FORMER MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia, Mr. President, I have been saddened by the recent death of my friend and former col-

league in the House of Representatives, Cleveland M. Bailey of West Virginia.

I am glad that he lived to see Congress pass the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, because it was legislation of this nature that he worked for many years to bring to reality. His dedicated and persistent efforts to provide greater educational opportunities to our Nation's schoolchildren had their roots in his own life.

Born on a farm near St. Marys in Pleasants County, W. Va., on July 15, 1888, he attended public schools within the Mountain State, studied at West Liberty State College, and eventually continued his college studies and received his degree from Geneva College at Beaver Falls, Pa. He returned to teach school in West Virginia, subsequently moving up to serve as high school principal in Clarksburg. Later he became a district supervisor of schools in that area; and, in 1921, he first served the people of his State in public office, having become a city councilman for Clarksburg. Among other positions which he held, he was an assistant editor on a Clarksburg newspaper, he was an assistant State auditor, and he served as State budget director during World War II.

He was elected as a Democratic Representative to the 79th Congress; and, although he failed of reelection to the 80th Congress, he was elected to the House of Representatives in the 81st Congress, and, subsequently, to each of five succeeding Congresses.

As a member of the House Education and Labor Committee, he continually exerted his influence toward more and better education for American students. In talking with a newspaper reporter earlier this year, he pointed out that the Secondary and Elementary Educational Act of 1965, as passed by the House, "is almost an exact replica of a bill which I introduced in 1940."

Congressman Bailey has been, justly, called the father of the impacted areas school program. In a recent letter to him, I wrote to congratulate him on having an elementary school in Midwest City, Okla., named for him—a school which had benefited from the Federal educational provisions set up for impacted areas.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record at this point an article from the May 11 edition of the Fairmont, W. Va., Times reporting on his trip to Oklahoma to be present for the dedication of this school which is located in proximity to Tinker Air Force Base.

There being no objection, it was ordered that the newspaper article be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Fairmont (W. Va.) Times, May 11, 1965]

BAILEY HONORED BY OKLAHOMA SCHOOL  
MIDWEST CITY, OKLA.—An elementary school named in honor of former West Virginia Congressman Cleveland Bailey will be dedicated here next Sunday, and Bailey will be on hand for the event.

Bailey, who once headed the House Education Committee, helped write legislation 15 years ago that provided Federal aid to school districts whose population is increased by reason of Federal employees stationed nearby. Tinker Air Force Base is located here.

July 20, 1965

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, many Americans will, in the future, be better educated, more productive citizens, because of the efforts of Cleveland M. Bailey toward having the Federal Government provide greater educational opportunities to the youth of our Nation.

#### THE SIXTH ANNUAL OBSERVANCE OF CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, in 1959 I introduced on the floor of the Senate a resolution to designate the third week in July as Captive Nations Week. In the 6 years since then Americans increasingly have become aware of the millions of people held in bondage behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains. In eastern Europe, southeast Asia, and most recently in Cuba, men, women, and children once free like ourselves are denied the free exercise of constitutional and civil rights, the right to labor productively for themselves and their children, and the right to rejoice in a unique national heritage. I do not believe, however, that the people of the captive nations have lost their dedication to the ideals of freedom or their desire to see their own nations free and proud once more. We Americans should take it upon ourselves to see that the hope of eventual liberation is never abandoned by these captive peoples. This week, during the sixth anniversary of Captive Nations Week all of us should reaffirm our belief in the principles of freedom and renew the hope of eventually seeing the blessings of liberty secured for all mankind.

In recent years world history has been characterized by the rapid decline of colonialism and the emergence of new and independent nations. Under bold leadership these nations have taken their rightful place in the community of nations. But even as the ghost of colonialism was being laid in its grave, a greater menace arose to threaten the peoples of the world. The aggressive policies of the Soviet Union and of Communist China are now the greatest challenge to world freedom.

All over the world Communists have struck at free nations that have allowed their vigilance to relax. Using well-practiced techniques of direct military action and personal intimidation the Soviet Union has extended its control over once-free nations of eastern Europe, until today the U.S.S.R. has become the most powerful imperialist nation on earth. Russian armies have captured and enslaved the three Baltic countries, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria, and they exert a powerful influence over many other countries. Similarly, the Red Chinese are obviously on the march, and have their eyes on all of southeast Asia and possibly on India as well. Cuba and Vietnam are the most recent examples of Communist expansion.

On the occasion of Captive Nations Week, however, Americans should not only recognize their duty to promote the cause of freedom within the captive nations, but should also be mindful of the

contributions of the captive peoples to our own way of life. The greatness of the United States is founded on the talents of people of the most diverse racial, religious, and national backgrounds. Our country has been greatly enriched by the labor, skill, and culture of people who have come from now captive nations. Thus, Captive Nations Week renews our spiritual ties with the peoples of eastern and central Europe.

The observance of Captive Nations Week should also bring to mind other American responsibilities. We must do all that we can to foster the ultimate liberation of those people already enslaved, but we must also be on guard against further encroachments by the Communist powers.

The free nations of the world which look to the United States for leadership in the struggle against communism should know that our country stands firmly behind all nations that cherish freedom. If we slacken our stand against the Communist usurpation of power or recognize the present Communist domination as either permanent or right, we really deny both our heritage and our ideals. If we abandon the fight against tyranny, we also unwillingly betray the newly free and developing nations in Africa and Asia which will themselves have to stand firm against the encroachments of the Communist empire. The United States must continue her policy of helping and protecting young nations in their efforts to remain free and independent.

Our system of personal freedom and private initiative has made the United States the greatest nation on earth. The same powerful human aspirations that built our country are at work in the hearts and minds of the people of both the captive and newly independent nations. We must always remember that these people would never willingly choose slavery.

During Captive Nations Week the people of the United States should once again fully recognize and commit themselves to their responsibilities. Under no circumstances must we offer assistance or encouragement to governments that unjustly deny to the people their basic rights. We ought to do all we can, subject to responsible direction, to ease the sufferings of the unfortunate peoples of the captive nations and assist them in their just aspirations toward a better life. Our service can be invaluable also in providing food, clothing, and medical care, education, and eventually refuge and citizenship to the refugees from tyrannous Communist governments.

Our goal of freedom for the captive nations has at times seemed remote. Yet if other free nations join with the United States in pressing for action to aid the captive peoples, freedom may not be so far distant a goal.

To the end of gaining freedom and self-determination for all peoples under constitutional government and a life of liberty and self-fulfillment for all the citizens of the world, I am proud to join in the 6th annual observation of Captive Nations Week.

#### WIRETAPPING AND EAVESDROPPING

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, recently, the President of the United States publicly stated his very strong opposition to wiretapping and eavesdropping. Needless to say, his support has been extremely helpful to the Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure which is investigating these subjects.

In this connection, the New York Times on Monday, July 19, 1965, printed a most illuminating editorial. I think it should be brought to the attention of all of my colleagues and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, July 19, 1965]  
NO FEDERAL WIRETAPS

The corruption of values that goes with wiretapping and other forms of electronic eavesdropping is reflected in the reaction of some ranking Washington officials to the disclosure that Internal Revenue Service agents have been using illegal wiretaps to gather information for the Government's drive against organized crime.

Instead of deploring these breaches of law, the prevailing attitude among many top law enforcers seems to be one of irritation that a Senate investigation caused the Nation to learn of their use of outlaw methods to ferret out outlaws. "This will kill us," one high Justice Department official complained.

In the light of this strange unconcern for legal procedure by some whose sworn duty it is to foster respect for law, it is well that President Johnson has issued a ban against all wiretapping by Federal employees, except where national security is involved. Even this may prove too broad an exemption, despite the President's requirement that the specific approval of the Attorney General be obtained before any telephones are tapped for security reasons.

Apparently Mr. Johnson made known his opposition to wiretapping shortly after he took office in 1963. The country will hope that his present directive is taken more seriously than the one he issued then. Whether any form of electronic eavesdropping is not an unconstitutional invasion of privacy has become a very real question in the light of recent Supreme Court decisions. But, whatever doubts may persist on this score, the use of tactics that run directly counter to the prohibitions of the Federal Communications Act breeds contempt for law and thus undermines the interests of society.

#### FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY— COMMENCEMENT DAY ADDRESS BY HARLEE BRANCH AT HOWARD COLLEGE, BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, at a time when crime is increasing at an alarming rate and when in many areas of the country there has been a virtual breakdown of law and order, it becomes more and more imperative that the American people take serious stock of the situation and rededicate themselves to the principle that with freedom goes responsibility and respect for constituted authority.

I have just had occasion to read an address delivered by Harlee Branch, Jr., of Atlanta, president of the Southern Co.,